

Message Text

PAGE 01 NATO 03901 01 OF 02 152131Z

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 IO-14 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-11 L-03 ACDA-19

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TO SECSTATE IMMEDIATE 6754

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USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 3901

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: NATO, PFOR, XG

SUBJECT: CSCE: FRENCH PERMREPS PRESENTATION OF EC-9 PAPER

GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE

BEGIN SUMMARY: ON JULY 15 FRENCH NATO PERMREP DE ROSE, SPEAKING FOR THE NINE, DISTRIBUTED EC PAPER ON ESSENTIAL CSCE GOALS (SEPTEL) TO "NON-NINE" ALLIES. IN EXPLAINING RATIONALE AND SUBSTANCE OF PAPER, DE ROSE SAID THE NINE SAW THE WARSAW PACT AS RESPONSIBLE FOR CSCE DELAYS AND FELT THAT SUDDEN MOVEMENT TO CONCLUDE CSCE WOULD PLAY INTO WP HANDS. A DEFINITION OF ESSENTIALS IS, THEREFORE, NECESSARY NOW TO BRING CSCE TO A CONCLUSION ON TERMS MORE FAVORABLE TO WESTERN POSITIONS.

IN ITS ANALYSIS, THE EC-9 PAPER IS MORE DETAILED THAN THE US JULY 10 SUBMISSION ON BASKET I PRINCIPLES, LESS SO ON CBMS. THE EC PAPER IS ALSO MORE DETAILED ON BASKET III IN THAT IT SUGGESTS SHORTTERM CONCRETE RESULTS FOR THE PRESENT NEGOTIATIONS AS WELL AS LONGER TERM OBJECTIVES.
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 NATO 03901 01 OF 02 152131Z

ON CSCE NEXT STEPS, EC-9 PROPOSE THAT NAC ATTEMPT TO ESTABLISH GENERAL GUIDELINES RATHER THAN A RANK ORDER LISTING OF DESIDERATA. THE NINE ALSO BELIEVE THAT FINAL DECISIONS ON THE ACCEPTABILITY OF LANGUAGE AND TRADE OFFS CAN ONLY BE

MADE AS STAGE III DRAWS TO A CLOSE. ONLY AT THAT TIME CAN DECISIONS ALSO BE TAKEN ON WHETHER, AND AT WHAT LEVEL, STAGE III WILL BE HELD. PRECEDURALLY, THE NINE SUGGEST COUNCIL DISCUSSION OF THE US AND EC PAPERS ON JULY 17 AND 19. EC PROPOSES THAT DETAILED WORK THEN BE CARRIED OUT IN GENEVA FOR SUBMISSION TO NAC FOR REVIEW IN EARLY AUGUST. REQUEST GUIDANCE FOR JULY 17 AND JULY 19 COUNCIL MEETINGS. END SUMMARY.

1. FRENCH NATO DELEGATION, IN CAPACITY AS CHAIRMAN OF THE EC-9, CALLED MEETING OF NON NINE ALLIES ON JULY 15 TO DISTRIBUTE AND COMMENT UPON A PAPER GIVING THE NINE'S VIEW OF THE ESSENTIAL OBJECTIVES OF THE CSCE.

2. FRENCH AMBASSADOR DE ROSE MADE SUBSTANTIVE COMMENTS ON THE APPROACH THE NINE HAD TAKEN TO THIS STUDY, ON THE RATIONALE OF THE PAPER, AND ON THE EC'S SUGGESTIONS ON HOW AND WHEN ITS PAPER AND THE US PAPER PRESENTED ON JULY 10, MIGHT BE CONSIDERED BY THE COUNCIL.

3. DE ROSE FIRST POINTED OUT THAT THE PARTIES ARE CURRENTLY FAR FROM HAVING DISCUSSED IN GENEVA ALL OF THE ITEMS ON THE AGENDA AS IT WAS AGREED IN HELSINKI. AS EXAMPLES HE POINTED TO BASKET I WHERE ONLY FIVE OF THE PRINCIPLES HAVE THUS FAR BEEN DISCUSSED. THE PARTIES HAVE AGREED TO BYPASS PRINCIPLE NO. SIX AND FOUR PRINCIPLES REMAIN TO BE CONSIDERED. IN BASKET III, DE ROSE SAID THERE HAD AS YET BEEN NO DISCUSSION OF THE PREAMBLE, AND WHAT HAS BEEN DISCUSSED BY THE VARIOUS SUB-COMMITTEES EQUALS ONLY ONE-FIFTH TO ONE-THIRD OF THE POINTS THAT ARE TO BE DISCUSSED UNDER THE HELSINKI MANDATE.

4. THE NINE FEEL THAT PROGRESS HAS BEEN SO MEAGER BECAUSE OF THE POLICIES AND TACTICS OF THE WARSAW PACT. A SITUATION HAS BEEN CREATED, DE ROSE SAID, WHEREBY IF THE NEGOTIATIONS WERE NOW TO STOP SHORT, THE WEST WOULD BE PLAYING INTO THE HANDS OF THE SOVIET UNION, WHICH NATURALLY WANTS TO SCORE ONLY WHAT IS GOOD FOR THE WARSAW PACT. THE NINE FEEL, THEREFORE, THAT THE ALLIES

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 NATO 03901 01 OF 02 152131Z

CANNOT FOREGO THE FIRST READING OF ALL POINTS WHICH WERE LISTED FOR DISCUSSION IN HELSINKI. THIS DOES NOT MEAN THAT THE NINE ATTACH THE SAME IMPORTANCE TO ALL POINTS, NOR THE SAME IMPORTANCE TO THOSE POINTS NOT YET DISCUSSED AS TO THOSE ALREADY DISCUSSED. IN FACT, THE NINE AGREE WITH THE US THAT THE TIME HAS COME TO IDENTIFY THE ESSENTIAL POINTS. TO DO SO WILL HELP IN THE PROCESS OF DRAWING UP THE NECESSARY GUIDELINES.

5. DE ROSE THEN COMPARED THE EC PAPER WITH THE US PAPER CIRCULATED JULY 10. ON BASKET I, DE ROSE NOTED THAT THE NINE'S PAPER GOES INTO MORE DETAIL THAN THE US SUBMISSION. IT SEEKS TO SET FORTH THE PRINCIPLES AND GUIDELINES WHICH THE NINE FEEL SHOULD GUIDE THE ALLIES BOTH IN DECIDING WHAT CAN BE ACHIEVED AND WHAT CAN BE ABANDONED. THE SECOND SECTION OF THE PAPER

DEALS WITH CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES AND IS CONSIDERABLY
SHORTER THAN THE US PRESENTATION ON THIS SUBJECT.

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PAGE 01 NATO 03901 02 OF 02 152143Z

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USNATO 3901

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GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE

6. THE ECS DISCUSSION OF BASKE III ISSUES, DE ROSE SAID, IS
MUCH MORE ELABORATE THAN ITS US COUNTERPAORT IN THAT IT ATTEMPTS
TO SUGGEST BOTH NEGATIVE AND POSITIVE WAYS TO IDENTIFY
WHAT THE ALLIES SHOULD TRY TO OBTAIN AND WHAT THEY SHOULD TRY
TO AVOID. ON THE POSITIVE SIDE, THE FRENCH REPRESENTATIVE SAID
THE FINAL CSCE TEXT SHOULD PRESENT LONG TERM OBJECTIVES AND AT THE
SAME TIME ADOPT A FEW CONCRETE MEASURES THAT WOULD BE FIRST STEPS
TOWARD THESE LONG TERM ENDS. ON THE NEGATIVE SIDE, THE NINE FEEL
THE ALLIES SHOULD NOT ACCEPT ANY WORDING THAT WOULD CONSTITUTE
IMPLICIT OBSTACLES TO IMPLEMENTATION IN THESE VARIOUS FIELDS.

7. DE ROSE POINTED OUT THAT THE EC TEXT TOUCHES ON ALL OF THE
POINTS LISTED UNDER BASKET III IN THE HELSINKI DOCUMENT. THIS IS
SO NOT BECAUSE THE NINE THINK SUCCESS CAN BE ACHIEVED IN ALL THESE
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 NATO 03901 02 OF 02 152143Z

FIELDS BUT BECAUSE THEY WISH READERS TO AT LEAST BE REMINDED OF
THE ORIGINAL SCOPE TO THEIR UNDERTAKING. DE ROSE SAID THERE

HAD BEEN SOME DISAGREEMENT AMONG THE NINE ON THIS PORTION OF THE PAPER.

8. CONCERNING THE SPIRIT I WHICH THE STUDY SHOULD BE APPROACHED, THE NINE AGREE THAT THE COUNCILS PART OF THE STUDY SHOULD BE TO TRY TO IDENTIFY POINTS WHICH THE ALLIES THINK ARE ESSENTIAL. THIS SHOULD BE DONE IN ORDER TO ESTABLISH GUIDELINES RATHER THAN TO ATTEMPT A LISTING OF THE POINTS IN RANK ORDER OF THEIR INTEREST TO THE ALLIES. BECAUSE WE KNOW THERE WILL BE HARD FINAL BARGAINING, SAID DE ROSE, THE NINE FEEL THE ALLIES SHOULD PREPARE FOR IT BY IDENTIFYING THE ESSENTIALS. THEY SHOULD NOT, HOWEVER, AT THIS STAGE ATTEMPT TO SAY WHAT SHOULD BE ACCEPTED OR REJECTED. NOR SHOULD THE ALLIES ATTEMPT NOW TO SET THE PRICE FOR THEIR AGREEING TO GO TO STAGE III. INSTEAD, THE NINE FEEL THAT ONLY AT THE END OF THE SECOND STAGE SHOULD THE DECISION BE TAKEN ON WHETHER OR NOT TO GO TO STAGE III AND, IS SO, AT WHAT LEVEL.

9. CONCERNING PROCEDURES, DE ROSE STATED THAT THE NINE BELIEVE THE COUNCIL SHOULD DISCUSS THE US PAPER ON JULY 17. THE NINE PROPOSE THAT THE EC PAPER COULD ALSO BE ADDRESSED INITIALLY IN THE COUNCIL. THE NINE BELIEVE THAT RATHER THAN CONTINUING THE WORK BY REFERRING IT TO THE SPC, IT WOULD BE BETTER FOR THE WORK TO BE DONE IN GENEVA WHERE ALLIED REPRESENTATIVES ARE MORE UP TO DATE ON DETAILS AND ARE IN TOUCH WITH NEUTRAL PARTICIPANTS. THE NINE FEEL THAT THE MATTER SHOULD THEN COME BACK TO THE COUNCIL FOR CONSIDERATION WHEN THE FIFTEEN HAVE COMPLETED THEIR WORK IN GENEVA. AN EXCEPTION WOULD BE THE CONSIDERATION OF CMBS DISCUSSION OF WHICH IS BEST CONTINUED AT NATO HEADQUARTERS. ON TIMING, DE ROSE THOUGHT THE GENEVA DISCUSSIONS MIGHT BE CONCLUDED ABOUT AUGUST 2.

10. RECOGNIZING THAT IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT FOR SOME ALLIES TO HAVE INSTRUCTED REACTIONS TO THE PRESENTATION BY THE NINE ON ONLY TWO DAYS NOTICE, PERMREPS PRESENT AGREED THAT DISCUSSION OF IT SHOULD BEGIN ON THE 17TH WHEN THE US PAPER IS CONSIDERED. DISCUSSION WOULD CONTINUE AT A FURTHER COUNCIL MEETING TO BE HELD ON FRIDAY, JULY 19. RUMSFELD

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